

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

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R 311351Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3605

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 OUAGADOUGOU 1209

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y MRN (1209 VICE 1202)

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, UV  
SUBJECT: PARM - ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASESSEMENTS -  
PART I

REF: (A) STATE 38356; (B) STATE 38338; (C) STATE 50086;  
(D) CERP 0001

1. US INTERESTS: (A) HUMANITARIAN: THE UNITED STATES HAS  
A BASIC HUMANITARIAN INTEREST IN ASSISTING ONE OF THE  
WORLD'S POOREST COUNTRIES. UPPER VOLTA, AS THE CENTER OF  
THE SAHELIAN ANTI-DROUGHT ACTIVITIES, AND HEADQUARTERS OF  
THE CILSS, SHOULD PROVIDE THE FOCAL POINT FOR THE U.S.  
CONTRIBUTION TO THE MULTI-DONOR UNDERTAKING TO IMPROVE THE  
CONDITIONS OF LIFE IN THIS AREA. (B) POLITICAL: FOR THE  
PAST ELEVEN YEARS, UNDER THE BENIGN RULE OF PRESIDENT  
LAMIZANA, UPPER VOLTA HAS ENJOYED AN AMAZING DEGREE OF  
FREEDOM AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AS COMAPRED TO MOST  
OTHER COUNTRIES IN AFRICA. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE,  
UPPER VOLTA HAS GENERALLY TAKEN A MODERATE POSITION  
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AND HAS BEEN RESPONSIVE TO OUR REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE  
ON CERTAIN CRITICAL ISSUES. IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO  
ENCOURAGE UPPER VOLTA TO CONTINUE ON THIS MODERATE  
COURSE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. (C) ECONOMIC: AMERICAN  
BUSINESS HAS BEEN RELUCTANT IN THE PAST TO GET INVOLVED  
IN UPPER VOLTA, ON THE COMMERCIAL SIDE BECAUSE OF THE  
LIMITED MARKET ALREADY PREEMPTED BY THE FRENCH, ON

THE INVESTMENT SIDE BECAUSE OF LACK OF WORTHWHILE OPPORTUNITIES. HOWEVER, WHILE UPPER VOLTA MAY WELL QUALIFY AS THE POOREST OF THE LDC'S, IT IS NOT ENTIRELY LACKING IN RESOURCES, AND THE SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF AID WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BE INJECTED IN THE VOLTAN ECONOMY BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OVER THE NEXT DECADE OR TWO, SHOULD PROVIDE ATTRACTIVE PROSPECTS FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS. VOLTANS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY AWARE THAT FRENCH FIRMS DO NOT ALWAYS BRING WITH THEM THE LATEST TECHNOLOGY AND KNOW-HOW. WE SHOULD, THEREFORE, ENCOURAGE AMERICAN FIRMS TO TAKE AN INTEREST IN UPPER VOLTA IN TERMS OF BOTH TRADE AND INVESTMENT.

2. OVERVIEW: PRESIDENT LAMIZANA IS COMMITTED TO A RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL RULE IN 1977. A NEW CONSTITUTION IS BEING DRAFTED AND WILL BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL BY POPULAR REFERENDUM IN MAY OR JUNE. THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY LEGISLATIVE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF 1977. IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT PRESIDENT LAMIZANA WILL BE A CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED HIMSELF, AND IT CANNOT BE EXCLUDED THAT EX-PRESIDENT MAURICE YAMEOGO WILL RUN AND WILL BE ELECTED. ASSUMING THAT THE FORMER PRESIDENT HAS LEARNED SOMETHING FROM HIS PAST MISTAKES, HIS ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY WOULD NOT NECESSARILY EFFECT US-VOLTAN RELATIONS. THE STYLE WILL BE DIFFERENT, BUT CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH THE IVORY COAST WOULD PROBABLY RESULT IN CONTINUED MODERATION BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. SHOULD THE NEW CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION DEVIATE TOO FAR  
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FROM THE POLICIES ESTABLISHED BY THE MILITARY REGIME, THE ARMY WOULD PROBABLY INTERVENE ONCE MORE AND IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE YOUNGER MILITARY LEADERSHIP WHICH WOULD BE LIKELY TO TAKE OVER WOULD BE AS MODERATE AND AS RESPECTFUL OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS PRESIDENT LAMIZANA HAS BEEN.

OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS, LARGE AMOUNTS OF FOREIGN AID ARE EXPECTED TO BE INJECTED INTO THE VOLTAN ECONOMY. LARGE PENDING PROJECTS (TAMBAO MANGANESE, SUGAR REFINERY, PHOSPHATE, CEMENT FACTORY, ROADS, RAILROADS, DAMS, GDEELOPMNT OF VOLTAVALLEYS) SHOULD FINALLY BE IMPLEMENTED. DURING THIS PERIOD, THE SIZE OF THE OFFICIAL AMERICAN COMMUNITY, WHICH HAS MORE THAN TRIPLED IN THE PAST THREE YEARS, WILL AGAIN INCREASE ENORMOUSLY, COMPOUNDING THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL PROBLEMS WHICH ARE ALREADY BEING FELT.

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R 311351Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
TO SECSTATE WSHDC 3606

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 OUAGADOUGOU 1209

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT FROM THE AMBASSADOR

IT IS ALSO LIKELY THAT PRIVATE  
AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS WILL BECOME INVOLVED IN  
UPPER VOLTA'S DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES, THEREBY INCREAS-  
ING THE SIZE OF THE AMERICAN PRESENCE. IN SUCH CIRCUM-  
STANCES IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN THE LOW  
PROFILE WHICH HAS BEEN THE RULE SINCE THE AMERICAN  
EMBASSY IN OUAGADOUGOU WAS ESTABLISHED. THE SIZE OF  
THE AMERICAN PRESENCE MAY ALSO BE RESENTED BY THE FRENCH  
WITH WHOM WE HAVE SO FAR MANAGED TO MAINTAIN EXCELLENT  
RELATIONS.

ON THE WHOLE, HOWEVER, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT EVENTS IN  
UPPER VOLTA OVER THE NEXT ONE OR TWO YEARS, WHETHER  
IN THE POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC FIELDS, WILL GREATLY EFFECT  
U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES.

### 3. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION AND ISSUES:

(A) OBJECTIVES: OUR MAIN-LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE IS TO DEVELOP  
THE AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL AND THE WATER RESOURCES OF  
UPPER VOLTA, AND REVERSE THE ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION OF  
THE PAST FEW YEARS, TO THE POINT WHERE FOOD PRODUCTION  
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WILL NOT ONLY MEET ALL THE NEEDS OF THE VOLTAN POPULATION

BUT ALSO PROVIDE FOR INCREASED EXPORTS TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND TO EUROPE. GRANTED THAT OUR CAPABILITY TO INFLUENCE POLITICAL EVENTS IN UPPER VOLTA IS LIMITED, ONE OF OUR OBJECTIVES MUST NEVERTHELESS BE TO ENCOURAGE THE MAINTENANCE OF A CLIMATE OF MODERATION AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN THE VOLTAN GOVERNMENT BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, AND TO INCREASE VOLTAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S., ITS POLICIES, LIFE STYLE AND PEOPLE. ANOTHER LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE IS TO EXPAND US TRADE AND INVESTMENTS IN UPPER VOLTA, PARTICULARLY IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES, TRANSPORTATION AND EXPLOITATION OF MINERAL RESOURCES.

(B) COURSES OF ACTION: IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE OUR MAIN LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE WE WILL NEED TO INCREASE CONSIDERABLY, ALONG WITH OTHER DONORS, OUR CONTRIBUTION TO UPPER VOLTA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. THIS SHOULD BE DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CILSS AND THE "CLUB DES AMIS DU SAHEL". IN ADDITION TO SUPPORTING AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS, WE MUST IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS GET INVOLVED IN THE RELATED INFRA-STRUCTURE SUCH AS CONSTRUCTION, REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ROADS, AND IMPROVED USE OF WATER RESOURCES WITHOUT WHICH AN INCREASE IN FOOD PRODUCTION WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE. WE MUST ALSO GET INVOLVED IN THE FIELDS OF HEALTH AND EDUCATION WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO ANY RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. IN ALL OF THESE AREAS WE MUST ASSIST WITH THE TRAINING OF VOLTAN PERSONNEL SO THAT UPPER VOLTA WILL BE ABLE TO PLAN, EXECUTE AND MANAGE ITS OWN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. IN VIEW OF UPPER VOLTA'S DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTED OIL, WE SHOULD BECOME THE PIONEERS OF ALTERNATE ENERGY SOURCES SUCH AS SOLAR AND WIND ENERGY. IN ADDITION TO THE INCREASE IN AID ACTIVITIES, WE SHOULD INCREASE THE NUMBER OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF FOOD PRODUCTION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND CONTINUE THE

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SPECIAL SELF-HELP DEVELOPMENT FUND WITHIN CURRENT MISSION GUIDELINES.

IN ORDER TO STIMULATE INCREASED INTEREST ON THE PART OF U.S. FIRMS IN LOCATING TRADE AND INVESTMENTS OPPORTUNITIES, THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL SECTION OF THE MISSION MUST BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE A LOCAL COMMERCIAL ASSISTANT.

WE SHOULD, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO PUBLICIZE AND EXPLAIN U.S. FOREIGN POLICIES AND U.S. ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES IN UPPER VOLTA AT PRESENT LEVELS, AND PROMOTE VOLTAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. THROUGH USIS PROGRAMS, INCREASED CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES, AND PERSONAL CONTACTS.

FINALLY, WE SHOULD SEEK VOLTAN COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA ONLY ON ISSUES OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE US. OR OF CLEAR MUTUAL INTEREST TO BOTH THE U.S. AND UPPER VOLTA.

(C) ISSUES: OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS WE HAVE DETECTED A GROWING IRRITATION AMONG VOLTAN OFFICIALS AT THE SANIL'S PACE AT WHICH OUR AID PROGRAM IS BEING IMPLEMENTED. WHILE AID IS STRONG ON SENDING HUNDREDS OF EXPERTS, CONSULTANTS, STUDY AND EVALUATION MISSIONS, AND IN GIVING GRANTS TO U.S. FIRMS AND UNIVERSITIES, THERE IS IN THE FIELD LITTLE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF U.S. ASSISTANCE IN SPITE OF THE LARGE AND GENERALLY COMPETENT AID OFFICE ESTABLISHED IN OUAGADOUGOU.

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R 311351Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3607

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 OUAGADOUGOU 1209

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT FROM THE AMBASSADOR

IT TAKES TWO YEARS FOR THE PROJECT APPROVAL PROCESS TO BE COMPLETED AND, EVEN WHEN A PROJECT IS FINALLY APPROVED, THE PROCEDURES USED BY AID/W FOR RECRUITMENT AND PROCUREMENT RESULT IN FURTHER DELAYS SOMETIMES RUNNING MORE THAN A YEAR. TO VOLTAN OFFICIALS IT OFTEN LOOKS AS THOUGH MOST AID FUNDS ALLOCATED FOR UPPER VOLTA END UP IN AMERICAN POCKETS AND VERY LITTLE FILTERS INTO THE VOLTAN ECONOMY. THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS IS BEGINNING TO AFFECT OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH UPPER VOLTA DND SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE. AID/W SHOULD URGENTLY REVIEW ITS PROCEDURES IN ORDER TO RESPOND MORE QUICKLY AND MORE EFFECTIVELY TO VOLTAN DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, AND SHOULD REESTABLISH THE ACCELERATED IMPACT PROGRAM (AIP) WHICH PERMITS QUICK

IMPLEMENTATION OF SMALL TO MEDIUM SIZED PROJECTS.

ANOTHER PENDING ISSUE IS THE REQUEST FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT WHICH PRESIDENT LAMIZANA SUBMITTED TO US MORE THAN THREE MONTHS AGO. AS A REGIME WHICH HAS SHOWN CONSIDERABLE MODERATION BOTH INTERNALLY AND ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, AND ONE WHICH IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY NERVOUS ABOUT SOVIET INFLUENCE AND ACTIVITY IN WEST AFRICA, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT LAMIZANA DESERVES SOME SUPPORT FROM US. WE SHOULD AT LEAST PROVIDE ON A GRANT OR FMS CREDIT BASIS SOME OF THE EQUIPMENT WHICH THE VOLTAN ARMY CAN USE FOR ITS CIVIC ACTION PROGRAMS, AND DETERMINE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WHETHER OTHER ITEMS CAN BE PROVIDED AND UNDER WHAT TERMS.

A THIRD ISSUE, WHICH WE ARE LIKELY TO HAVE TO FACE DURING THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO, CONCERNS OUR RELATIONS WITH THE FREANCH. AS AMERICAN FIRMS ATTEMPT TO GET A SHARE OF THE BUSINESS GENERATED BY THE HUGE DEVELOPMENT EFFORT WHICH IS CONTEMPLATED IN UPPER VOLTA BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR THE NEXT DECADE OR SO, THEY ARE BOUND TO GET IN CONFLICT WITH THE ESTABLISHED FRENCH FIRMS. WE HAVE INDICATIONS THAT THE FRENCH MADE A DETERMINED EFFORT TO PREVENT THE PURCHASE BY UPPER VOLTA OF AN AMERICAN MANUFACTURED SATELLITE GROUND SSTATION FOR TELECOMMUNICATIONS. THE DEAL FINALLY WENT THROUGH, AFTER CONSIDERABLE DELAY AND, AS A RESULT, A FRENCH COMPANY IS NOW GOING OUT OF BUSINESS. THE FRENCH ARE ALSO PRESENTLY USING THEIR INFLUENCE TO PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT IN OUAGADOUGOU OF AN AMERICAN AIR FREIGHT COMPANY WHICH WOULD COMPETE FOR AIR CARGO WITH THE FRENCH FIRM UTA. WE ARE LIKELY TO SEE MORE OF THIS TYPE OF COMPETITION IN THE YEARS AHEAD. SINCE THE FRENCH WILL PRESUMABLY CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IN UPPER VOLTA, IT IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE FRENCH TAX-PAYER, NOR IN THE INTEREST OF OTHER DONORS, THAT A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THE FUNDS THUS MADE AVAILABLE SHOULD PROVIDE UNUSUALLY HIGH PROFITS FOR A FEW FRENCH FIRMS. PERHAPS THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT COULD BE DISCUSSED WITHIN THE "CLUB DES AMIS DU SAHEL".

(H) FINALLY, WE CAN EXPECT THAT IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS, UPPER VOLTA WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY WITH OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES ON ISSUES WHERE VOLTAN NATIONAL INTEREST IS NOT DIRECTLY CHALLENGED. WE CAN CONFIDENTIAL

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ANTICIPATE CONTINUED VOLTAN SUPPORT OF THE ASIAN/  
AFRICAN BLOC POSITION ON MOST INTERNATIONAL  
ISSUES WHICH ARE OF LOW PRIORITY CONCERN FOR UPPER VOLTA.  
ON ISSUES OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S., HOWEVER,  
UPPER VOLTA IS LIKELY TO BE RESPONSIVE TO OUR APPROACHES,  
PROVIDED THAT OUR RELATIONS WITH UPPER VOLTA REMAIN AS  
FRIENDLY AS THEY ARE TODAY, AND PROVIDED THAT WE CAREFULLY  
SELECT THOSE FEW ISSUES ON WHICH WE NEED ITS SUPPORT.  
GRAHAM

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